

Transcription of Betrayal When the Government Took Over the Teamsters Union

There's nothing that would suggest that the federal government has ever really had of an interest in protecting ordinary members of unions and their interests.

While we can't tolerate an organized crime controlling the teamsters, neither can we tolerate the government controlling our unions.

Just seemed to me it was a government effort to put a stranglehold on the teamsters.

Giuliani wanted to make a name for himself and he started coming after the Teamsters Union.

We are not seeking overall control of the Teamsters Union. This is a use of the racketeering statute in a surgical way to attempt to take back from the mafia the Teamsters Union.

The idea was to remove the mob from the union, have democratic elections, nobody had a problem with that. They just took it and ran with it. There's no sunset clause in the consent decree. They were going to be there for three years, clean it up, be gone. It's 25 years later, they're still there. And as far as I'm concerned, they're just bilking the union.

What do we want?

Freedom of speech!

When do we want it?

Now!

What do we want?

Freedom of speech!

When do we want it?

Now!

Justice Department is an oxymoron. That in itself is an oxymoron. There is no justice involved in this situation. It's cover your own end and end justifies means.

Bill Hogan was prohibited from speaking to anybody that is a teamster for the rest of his life. The people he had worked with the past approximately 40 years, he could not speak to anymore? Should they speak to him they would be banned from the union as well.

This is serious. This is not about Bill Hogan. This is not about Walter Shea, Mike Reilly. This is about a group of people who stood up for the membership and now they have to be destroyed. They have to be eliminated. That's what this is about. This is about absolute power.

Often things that are born of good intentions and at a time when they are needed live long beyond the time that they are required to be in place. Hence the expression-- the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

I think that there was a case for an aggressive step, but they were very, very aggressive and arguably went too far for much too long.

As far as Americans can were concerned, we were the teamsters. They're mobsters anyway. I mean, that was the attitude out there like, so we don't care if the government breaks the rules. But the government is the one that's supposed to not break the rules.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Bill Hogan was a lifelong teamster from Chicago who rose through the ranks to become an effective union leader with a national following. His criticisms of the federal takeover, however, would put him on a collision course with both the government and the leadership of the teamsters with devastating results for his career, his family, and the union he served.

My dad started a local. So when I was born, I was a teamster. I didn't know that. And it's very much like a policeman or a fireman. Your dad's a policeman, your dad's a fireman, that's all you're exposed to your whole life. As you grow up, you can go into the fire department, police department, you're going to find sons, grandsons. They attack us, teamsters, because we follow in the footsteps of our parents. And I don't think that's fair or deserving. My dad started a local. He built it up. I went to work for him and I worked hard. I built my own reputation. We ran that local for 40 years. Every three years, we had to run for our office under the membership coming in and voting for us and we got elected every three years.

To all the union. I'm the chairman of the council and I run a joint council. And I get there by membership support. My members, people that respect me and the job I did. Nobody handed me any of this, including the convention Bureau spot. It wasn't handed to me. I worked hard. And I'm proud of my record and I'll put it up against anybody. And it's frightening When I am called some kind of an element that's an undesirable. I take it as a personal affront. Because I pride myself--

I met Bill in 1980. I was literally mesmerized by this individual and the people that were always around him. He was always someone that everybody wanted to talk to. He was somebody that everybody listened to. And he just said what I would call true leadership quality.

Everyone who knows Bill both likes him and admires him. He's one of those people who is enormously well respected in all the circles he travels in, whether that's historically been as an ardent supporter of union rights and union members, as a willing partner with industries that needed to work effectively with unions, like the convention industry, or the film industry.

We would not have had a film industry here, nor would we have had a successful film industry without the help of Bill Hogan. He helped lay the groundwork for-- the word that was going out to Hollywood that we wanted to work. And we were going to do what we had to do to get the work. He just wanted to make it all work. And that was the feeling that he gave out to everybody. And they were there to pull this thing together and have it be successful.

Bill called me one day, he was Chairman of the Convention Bureau. He was chairman of the simple conference teamsters, President of the Joint Council, Secretary Treasurer of local 714. He called me one day said-- what are you doing? I'm in the police. Why? What's up? He says-- I need a guy. I got all these hats. I mean, I had rack. The first time I drove Bill, he got in the front seat. He didn't sit-in the back like some big shot. You know what I mean? He was always humble. Picked Bill up in the dark, took him home in the dark. Not a day went by he didn't stop at the local, the Joint Council, the Convention Bureau, the conference. I still admire his tenacity and his kindness towards the members. Always stop, see a member on the street, or something going on, stop get out of car, go to McCormick Place walk the docks.

He was the consummate labor leader. And I know people from all other locals and unions that would contact Bill and say-- I need your help on this. Can you-- I need a contact here. Can you talk to this guy for me? Can you talk to this legislator for me? Bill was always there, crossing union bounds, just helping the working guy, the working woman, the working man, make their plight a little better.

One of the things I would say to people when I'd get a group together that we were trying to organize, I would tell them-- the only union bigger than the Teamsters Union is the Soviet Union. And I don't think we'd have a problem taking that money either so. That was our persona. And we organized a lot of people and they recognized the strength we had.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is a large, diverse union, with 1.4 million members covering the US and Canada. It represents truckers, airline pilots, health care workers, police officers, and bakers, among others. Today, 1 out of every 10 union members in America is a teamster.

The teamsters grew into the largest union because they were very successful. So they were very successful at creating standards that we now identify as middle class ones, in terms of wages and benefits. And in many ways, the teamsters very successfully organized and standardized the trucking and transport industries and ended up lifting the wages and benefits of those who worked in those sectors across the country. But really, you could argue that the teamsters lifted the living standards of the working class as a whole and helped define what good jobs were.

If you really research the Teamsters Union, you go back into history, sure we had some problems. But the good we've done for working people in this country is second to none. We don't have to apologize to anybody. We created the middle class basically. The teamsters started pension funds, health and welfare funds, legal plans. All those types of things for working people. And we brought wages up.

James Riddle Hoffa was president of the teamsters from 1957 until 1971. Playing a major role in the growth and development of the union. He negotiated the first national agreement for teamster drivers in 1964, called The National Master Freight Agreement.

Jimmy Hoffa Senior had put together the National Master Freight Agreement covering 475,000 teamster members. It was a genius thing that was done. It was huge because in every contract, there was a picket line protection clause. If a driver came up to a picket line where we either had a strike going, the driver could refuse to cross without any penalty whatsoever from his employer. And he was protected. When you get that kind of clout, the employer that you're trying to organize starts to listen. Because if he can't get his merchandise, he might as well sign a union contract and work it out with the best he possibly can.

In some ways, Hoffa in particular, I think took on this aura of a working class antihero. The characteristics that big business gets praised for are corporate leader's ability to negotiate, hard nosed tactics, success, and really winning concessions from an opponent. These are the kinds of things that often the teamsters successfully did in the transport sector. And so while he was vilified for that by many trucking firms, and especially conservative politicians, he was seen in many ways as a hero. That this is our guy. This is the working class guy who can stick it to the big guys.

In 1957, the US senate opened hearings to investigate criminal infiltration and illegal activities of the nation's labor unions. The committee, with Robert Kennedy as Chief Counsel, focused primarily on the Teamsters Union and their leadership.

There is no question about Hoffa. Don't you say that, either. You said that enough around this country. I want the American press to know that I resent the fact. And don't use this as a sounding board for headlines for that purpose. And I appeal to the Chair that that be taken out of the record.

This prosecution of the teamsters and the vilification of the teamsters is part and parcel of a larger attack on organized labor. The teamsters is the perfect object of a smear campaign against the unions as a whole because of its problems with corruption and mob ties. For me, the tragedy here is that every union became tarnished with this brush of corruption. There is evidence of this corruption and it's a tragedy because he was such a skilled trade unionist.

Did you say-- that SOB, I'll break his back.

Who?

You.

Say it to who?

To anyone. Did you make that statement after these people testified before the committee? Well, who's back were you going to break, Mr. Hoffa?

Figure of his speech. I don't even know who I was talking about. And I don't know what you're talking about.

Ever since those hearings, a succession of Teamsters Union presidents have found themselves in hot water with law enforcement. Jimmy Hoffa was jailed in 1967 for jury tampering, pardoned in 1971. He disappeared in 1975, the victim of a gangland murder.

In 1989, US attorney Rudy Giuliani decided that instead of prosecuting union officials with ties to organized crime, the Justice Department would use the federal RICO statute to take control of the entire International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This was an unprecedented use of the RICO statute.

I think the government's lawsuit and the remedy that was negotiated was-- it was very much justified. I think it was the only potentially successful strategy for breaking the alliance between the mafia and the teamsters union.

If the United States government can move in and take over the teamsters union, they'd move in and take over the steel workers. They can move in and take over the United Mine Workers. They can take over the first national bank in your community. They can take over any business, any entity. It is the most oppressive type of governmental action that I can remember in my lifetime.

The government does not use the RICO tool in other contexts, in other private context banking, or business, or contacts like that, or municipalities that are corrupt. It hasn't used the RICO to at least at that point. And it only used against the labor unions and very aggressively.

The government appointed a watchdog known as the Independent Review Board or the IRB, was given unlimited power to remove any official member of the teamsters. Whether or not that person had been accused of a crime.

That's a different offense. This is disobeying you.

It was just blatant. Government takeover by a single judge who was handpicked by Giuliani. And in order to get done whatever he wanted to get done. And that's exactly what happened. And from that day on, they just battered us and battered us and battered us. Admittedly, they got some bad guys and that's OK. But I often wonder, with all the resources that the government had, why didn't they get those bad guys anyway?

They started this lawsuit against the teamsters board and subsequently entered into what was called a consent decree. And there was anything but consent, I think they bludgeoned the board members into agreeing to the terms of it under threat of criminal action and prison and fines and everything else.

Giuliani was the one that brought the RICO charges against the international. And then Randy Mastro was his man that put the pieces together.

Mastro was there and said-- if you guys, if you don't sign it now, you'll be in court tomorrow. And we've got an equal number of mafiosi that'll be standing there alongside you. And he says the press has been invited. And it's OK by me if you don't sign it. That was his threat. That wherever you go, we're going to put you guys, and those guys, and that's the connection. But then when all of the other Vice President signed it and Mastro said what he said that this could be voted out by the convention, we said-- well, what the hell? Might as well sign it then. And that's why we signed it. And I've been ashamed of it to this day.

This goes back to March of 1989. That's when the consent decree was signed. And they negotiated the consent decree with the Executive Board under the threat of RICO charges, taking your conscience away from them, and making them fight the battles, their legal battles on their own. Not allowing the union to represent them. Faced with that, they agreed to sign a consent decree. One of the vice presidents told me that he signed it because he was informed that this would go to convention and the delegates would have a right to vote on it and that it would be our decision.

It's not about freedom, just the opposite. It's about control. This agreement has allowed the government to occupy our international, locals, and joint council like a conquering army for the last two years. It has wiped out much of the due process protection, afforded members, officers, and officials under our constitution.

We're being asked to install a bureaucratic organization. Big brother is brother Max said-- that we'll look into the lives of every member and officer who is charged by a disgruntled member without any basis in fact. I said to the board then I say it now-- we will have to spend our lifetime defending against these unfair allegations, which will serve only to cripple our organization. I don't believe that our people want big brother in this union.

There are over 600 local unions in this country. The majority of which are led by honest hard working men and women. They are not corrupt. They are not controlled by the mafia. Their only challenge is that they have tried to help other working people.

Motion on the floor is to reject the consent agreement. Part one of the proposed Constitution . All in favor of the motion signify by saying I--

I--

oppose

--oppose

--as having this order.

It was supposed to have been a democratic process in the union and had always been. And when it came time to approve the consent decree or not, a vote was taken and the vote was overwhelmingly against the consent decree. Yet it was nevertheless adopted, in direct violation of the democratic process.

The government's promise to abide by the vote of the Union's membership was not kept. Legal analysts say that Randy Mastro, Giuliani's right hand man, violated federal procedure to select controversial judge, David Edelstein, as the sole judge ruling on all cases nationwide under the consent decree.

The judge obviously had a reputation of being a pro-government judge and he was certainly a favorable judge for the government in this case. No question about it.

The first scene in the case was how Edelstein was chosen. And he was chosen by basically violating the process for or abusing the process for judge selection.

Well, everything points to the government shopping for a judge. And they shop and they get Judge Edelstein. As far as we were concerned, it was a kangaroo court. Whatever they brought in front of him that they wanted, they got. And he was not at all a fair judge.

Consent decree was very broad and it was very aggressive. And then Edelstein interpreted it at every turn very aggressively. He basically ruled that all of the Bill of Rights protections didn't apply to what he was doing. And therefore, he was able to get out from all of the First Amendment, freedom of speech, and freedom of association concerns.

They went into the locals there would be six guys in trench coat-- black trench coats, they knock on the door, they walk in. They'd ordered the officers out, ask for the keys to cars if cars were owned by the local. And you were out of a job. And that was the end of it. Maybe 60 days later they'd have a kangaroo hearing and it was over.

I'm not a criminal. They rooted me out. There's no charge. There's nothing against me. They'd never have said that I embezzled any funds, or did anything like that. They can't say that I didn't take care of my members, represent my members fairly and properly. But they got rid of me.

Well, the consent decree is what gave them that power. The initial power was as we know was to remove the mob from the union. And they accomplished that in a very short period of time. Maybe the first three years. Then they found out that they had a home, that nobody was going to attack him or go against him. And they were on the payroll of the teamsters union. So they had the ability to stay there as long as they wanted.

The IRB is a law firm that's based in Washington D.C. Appointed by a federal judge that's sitting in New York. The IRB is not a judicial group made up of judges that are paid a fixed fee every year. The IRB is a law firm that gets bills thousands of dollars an hour. So they wonder-- they didn't want to see this gravy train end.

After the first three years, that's when they cleared most of what I think of as the riff raff out, pretty effectively and a lot more. But then they've been in existence in another two decades. Because why not? It pays a nice salary. The teamsters are paying for. The government doesn't have to pay for it. It gives the government control over the union. A lot of people are making a lot of money off of it in the private sector. It's kind of a self-perpetuating machine.

So I started lobbying against them. Many politicians I met in Washington explaining that I think it's time they should leave, some of them looked into it. But I think I was fighting an all-boys thing. They're all friends and they'll come out of the Justice Department. And I think a lot of them we're told-- just leave it alone.

The teamsters we're an easy mark. Believe me. There was no way to run to get sympathy from the street. I mean, people was-- oh, come on. The teamsters. You guys are all crooks. And I had to live with that most of my career.

The fate of the teamsters would now be largely in the hands of former federal judge Frederick Lacey, and Charles Carberry, an attorney from the Washington law firm Jones Day. Hearings conducted by the IRB were conducted without the legal safeguards and court trials.

It took everybody's focus off representing the members and put it on-- how do I protect myself from this monster that just took over our union? You were afraid to do anything that you felt the IRB could come in and just say-- you're out of here. Your career is over. And by '94, '95, I had had it and said-- it's time somebody challenges this. We have to do it. It's wrong.

So we brought an action contending that the goals of weeding out corruption in the teamsters union had been accomplished. And that the rights of the individual hundreds of thousands of members were being trampled on and it was time to end the decree.

To assistance to then US attorney Mary Jo White, called Richard Volpe into the US Attorney's Office to demand that he would drop a lawsuit. Seeking to end the government control of the teamsters union.

The threat was that-- if you don't withdraw this lawsuit, we will ruin you financially, and your kids won't go to college and that you won't have the money to send them to college. And that's the way it's going to be, so withdraw or else. It was very painful. Because I really believed that we were right and the government was wrong here. And even to this day, it haunts me that I backed off. But we are human. And my family came first.

I gladly accept the nomination honor and pride for the Office of General President and I thank you very much.

In 1991, Ron Carey, leader of a New York Local of UPS Drivers from Queens, New York, ran for teamsters president as a reform candidate.

We have to send the right signals to the leadership throughout this country that corruption, mob control, not representing the members, taking kickbacks, or things of that nature won't be tolerated and it won't.

Despite evidence of corruption, the IRB was open in its support for Carey. Turnout was low, less than half the members voted. And Carey won with only 16% of the union members votes.

I'm here to talk about the new teamsters, and what we're doing to help bring about a change in our union, a change in our country.

New Jersey teamster leader, Gene Giacumbo, ran successfully on the same ticket as Carey. Hope that Carey would be the reform the union needed. Unfortunately, Carey was anything but a reformer. When Gene Giacumbo and Bob Simpson, both members of the executive board found that money from the union treasury was disappearing, Ron Carey prevented them from looking into the books.

When we entered with \$156 million in reserves while taking in \$110 million per year in dues, within less than three years, they added down to zero. And they wouldn't let us see the books to see where the money went.

We sent a letter to Ron Carey and question that-- when we sent that letter to him, he was like a bull that saw a red blanket or something. He went crazy. He barred us from the executive board meetings at that point.

I refused to sign off on minutes or anything else because I had a fiduciary responsibility for this. Then I went to IRB and I asked them, I said-- I want to be able to see the books and records. Their response to me was-- you're not a trustee. It's not your job. So I went to the trustees. And I said-- look, I want to look at the books. They said-- we can't look at the books. They won't let us look at the books.

The IRB never did anything when we sent a letter to Carey telling him how he was misusing international funds. They never did anything.

I knew working on labor rackets in New York for all those years that local 804, Carey's local was known to be an organized crime dominated local. I also knew from working on the teamsters putting together the civil RICO case that local 804 was one of the 111 locals that was originally listed by the FBI as local union controlled by organized crime. Alphonse D'Arco was the acting boss of the Lucchese crime family. He testified widely against major organized crime figures. The FBI took the position. He was the most valuable informant source they'd ever had, the highest level organized crime figure to ever cooperate with the government. I know he told the FBI that Ron Carey was with them. He had been someone associated with the Lucchese crime family for years. He said he was with them and made money with them.

Interestingly enough, the letter granting immunity to Ron Carey for his mob related activities came from the office of then US attorney Rudy Giuliani in 1986. Several years before the government takeover that was supposed to remove mob influence from the union.

Oh, I knew later that Ron Carey had been granted immunity in a letter agreement. This loan sharking operation intended to get money from teamsters pension funds to put it on the street at five points a week. And that the seed money for that operation came from Carey's local 804.

He was given immunity from any prosecution, any tax prosecution, because therein lies the kickback portion of the money coming back from this.

The last meeting I had with Carberry when I had presented some of this material to him, he told me that Judge Lacey and the FBI wouldn't let him do that, wouldn't let him pursue that. And to quote Mr. Lacey in his letter-- "Carey's a bum. But he's our bum."

Subsequently, the IRB fired Moroney, the first investigator who they had hired when the government takeover began. The IRB also retaliated against Simpson, and Giocumbo who blew the whistle on Carey's financially irregularities.

I wasn't a very happy camper in 1994 when it came down. The rumors started floating around that they were going to put local 743 on trusteeship. For what? We were the largest local, we were financially sound, there was no problem than the local. But suddenly, they want to put us on a trusteeship to remove us from office and take over the local.

Gene was thrown out of the union for basically some sort of expense account crap. And basically, it was bogus.

They said that I had taken a duplicative car allowance that I had somehow embezzled money from the international union. Because although, I had given up my own salary in my local union when I had become an international officer, I'd also said I don't need the car allowance. He says-- oh, you have a union car. I said-- no. I said, I don't even take a union car from my local.

In a rare court victory against the powerful IRB, Giacombo was reinstated.

Carey swapped money from the teamsters so that he could get money back into his re-election coffers. And they embezzled over a million dollars. By the way, it's interesting, through all the previous years, nobody embezzled money from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. All those rackets guys, Hoffa and whatnot, never embezzled from the teamsters.

The IRB didn't seem to care too much. They just wanted to see they get Carey back in there because I think nothing could be more onerous to them than to have somebody by the name of Hoffa get reelected over their pet, Carey. Good lord.

It's a fight for the heart and soul of this union.

During his 1996 re-election campaign, the IRB sought to protect Carey by putting into trusteeship teamster local from a slate running against Ron Carey, including Bill Holgan's local 714. The takeover infuriated members of local 714.

I ain't moving mother[BLEEP]. Tell you what [BLEEP]. You piece of [BLEEP].

They had the local in trusteeship for 18 months. In that 18-month period, they couldn't find a dime missing. They couldn't charge us with anything. They came up with some bullshit stuff just to have a hearing. Never mind anything. So after 18 months, Bobby went into federal court. During this 18-month period, they took the treasury to LOCAL down by 500,000. They lost 3,000 members. So we went into federal court. He was advised by labor lawyers in Chicago-- oh, I don't do that. You should take it on the IRB. You can't win. He took it on. And a federal judge

here in Chicago looked at it and said-- I see no reason why this local should be in trusteeship on your watch.

I went to court with what those lawyers, they agreed to go with me after I said I would go someplace else, saying done. We were able to be successful on trial court, had the election, won by an overwhelming majority, and took control local back, to try and restore it to what it once was.

Local 714 seemed to be back to its task of organizing members with the hope that the IRB would leave them alone. Bob Hogan was running the local and members were celebrating the election of his father, Bill Hogan as chairman of Joint Council 25.

Local 714 has had a legacy of leadership passed on down in the Hogan family tradition, from Bill Senior, to Bill Junior, to Jimmy, and now to Bobby. But as the Hologans are family, we too are family, local 714. Today, the working ground of America is fertile for the seeds of unionism. And local 714 has one of the fastest growing memberships in the international organization. This can only be attributed to the wisdom and the skill of our leadership. As American union workers, I'd like to give Bill and local 714 a proud round of applause.

I will never apologize for retaliating against corruption!

Eventually, Ron carries financial improprieties, including money laundering during his re-election campaign, led to his expulsion from the union in 1998.

Who do you want to win this election?

Hoffa!

Jimmy Hoffa's son, James P. Hoffa was elected president of the teamsters in December 1998. Bill Hogan helped the younger Hoffa get elected. A decision he would come to regret.

Bill was the key to his victory in the central conference for sure. But General President Hoffa didn't like it because he wasn't in the limelight. Hoffa promised to end government control of the union. But like Ron Carey before him, he ended up using the IRB to go after his rivals.

Jim Hoffa took the mold exactly like Ron Carey did. But he moved it to a higher level and really went after guys. Ron Carey didn't go after anybody that voted for him or supported him, Jim Hoffa did almost the exact opposite. He went after anybody that became popular that he thought was a threat to him politically down the road. And that was his real motivation if you ask me around about Bill.

They're only going to carry out the wishes of the person who is the general president. And that's basically what they do. If the general president wants something done, he'd get it done through the IRB.

They went after me because I recognized after a few years that they were bilking the union and what they were doing was running the union. And we were elected to run the union. They don't pay dues. They're taking a lot of money out of our union. Types of charges they were bringing after they remove the mob, which they didn't do, probably in the first three years. After that, they got into all kinds of things that we were told they were not going to get into. That was the actual workings of local unions. Their critics were targeted and a lot of it was political. I believe that when I ran for national office, they viewed me as a threat. Because if I had made it to national office, I'd have been all over their case to get rid of them.

This man is going to screw this union for who's benefit? Is it the government? Is it the mine workers? Who's trying to control against this union? We are our proud organization.

Bill Hogan always seemed to get a lot more attention than Jimmy Hoffa when he walked into a room. Not only from the business leaders, but from the rank and file. From the guy that drove the forklift, drove the truck, he seemed to have the respect of those rank and file people. Because he was one. He came up from the bottom. And I-- just my feeling of seeing this-- just being there, standing next to everybody. There's either a little bit of jealousy, or a little bit of fear that this guy's got a little bit more panache with the membership than I do. And he did. There was no-- and nobody will dispute that fact.

Well, there's no question that it was all political. I think there were people in the teamsters union that were fearful of Bill, if Bill decided to run for office. I think that the government had a relationship with certain people in the union. They could control the teamsters. They felt Bill was in the way of that, or potentially in the way that. All he cared about was the welfare of other union members.

I was the director of the trade show and movie division for the entire country. So when we'd have a national convention, or I had a central state convention, any one of the conferences had a trade division meetings, and they had a movie and trade show division meeting, I would be. There so I had the opportunity to meet every contractor and lots and lots of show managers. They respected me. They knew my word meant something. If I told them-- hey, here's what we're going to try and do.

Despite Hogan's many successes, the government continued their attempt to remove him from the teamsters union. The new effort began when Hogan was asked to help with negotiations for temporary trade show workers in Las Vegas.

I was signed to Las Vegas from the international to solve their problems, trade shows were crying that-- the membership was actually crying that they weren't getting any representation. There was union workers, and there was non-union workers, which is a right to work state. So I called Bill Hogan and talked to Bill Hogan and said-- listen, can you give me a hand with this? Because you have more experience in it and then I did.

The problem in Las Vegas became there was a severe labor shortage when they're trying to install exhibitions in the various facilities simultaneous or one right after the other. So I went to my friend, Bill Hogan, I said-- let me give you an idea. Currently, the starting wage in Las Vegas

for a teamster unskilled is \$11.50 or \$12 an hour. At that point in time, our people in cleaning were getting paid \$7.50 an hour basic. How about if we take our people, make them-- if they choose to, join your union, and you'll pay them like \$10.50 an hour. We'll make it about \$1 an hour for the first 150 hours that they're in the industry. At the end of the 150, it would transfer from our hiring to the hiring hall out of the teamsters local 631.

Now, we were taking people that were basically at a minimum wage. Were bringing them up into a first contract that would get them up somewhere in the \$10-\$11 range. Ultimately, after so many hours they would become full time members of the union.

I informed the international and foreign general counsel which was Ben Jamansky, I informed Jim Hoffa. I informed the whole legal department that this was going on. They said fine. Go with it. What happened was that we went to Chicago, Jim Hoffa went to meet this Rick Simon. Matter of fact, it was at Harry Caray's restaurant. And we sat down and talked to of excitement as this is what we want to do. Simon was in agreement to do it. And Jim Hoffa says-- I would like to do it all over the country. Is this possible? And Rick Simon says yes it is.

Jimmy Hoffa knew completely what was going on. He approved it, -- didn't question it, didn't say let me get back to you next week, didn't say we have to have the lawyers review this. He said-- how many more cities can you do this in?

In a stunning move, the IRB charged Hogan in Passo with intending to negotiate a substandard labor agreement. Though no contract had been signed and a 40% raise for temporary trade show workers was being offered.

All of a sudden I find out that for some odd reason there was a charge. That I got charged by the IRB. That they want to sit down and have a hearing with me. What puzzles me is that this whole thing came down of something bad about a contract. We were trying to negotiate a substandard contract. I didn't even have the power to sign a contract.

I think it had more to do with internal teamster politics than I do with anything with the law or more importantly, what was good for the union, what was good for its members, and what's good for the employees. This is not about me or Bill Hogan. What was good for those employees to get a \$3, \$3.50 an hour raise immediately? That was good for those employees. They were not going to pay teamsters to do this 12 months a year. That was good for local 631. Who is going to hire me?

Well, personally, he committed no crime here. So from a prosecutor's standpoint, I wouldn't see anything that would be worthy of the attention of a prosecutor. And the consent decree presented in this case was entered for the purpose of dealing with organized crime influence in the affairs of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. And what we're talking about in Bill's case is far afield from influence of organized crime.

The people that are involved with the IRB, from what I've seen, have absolutely no knowledge of what labor really is all about the process. And if we go back to Las Vegas, they did not

understand what we were doing. We were creating an additional workforce to supplement the existing workforce.

I get a call from the international stating that we-- this is all nonsense. There's nothing to it. Don't worry about it. Everything's going to be OK. But just leave Jim Hoffa's name out of it. Do not put Jim Hoffa's name involved in it. Leave him out of it.

All Mr. Hoffa had to say to the IRB was-- you know what? This is a great idea. There is not violating any labor law. It's been asked and answered with labor attorneys. Were going to ask the Labor Department, they're free to go initiating a contract. This is a good idea. But Mr. Hoffa never came forward, right? As the train was coming down the track, Mr. Hoffa stepped off the track and left Mr. Holden standing on the track.

We were never given a chance to have our own peers, our own international, our own board, our own committee set up to hear charges that were brought upon us from the internet, from the IRB. I mean, that's unheard of. I mean, we're members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. We should have had a hearing in front of our own committee, in front of our own board.

The general president chose to not give Bill that layer that he should have had. I personally argued at the general executive board level that that was absolutely wrong. That's like taking someone that's accused of anything and instead of having a prosecutor and a defender, he's represented by two prosecutors.

Both Hogan and Paso were barred for life from the teamsters union. Despite the fact that there was no criminal act, no violation of labor law.

I'm barred for life. I can't talk to teamsters. If they talk to me, they put themselves in jeopardy of losing their job. That's wrong. I'm not a criminal. I have no criminal background. I have nothing that I've done criminal.

First of all, first and foremost from the beginning, you got to understand why they went after me. They went after the meat closest to the bone. They went after Bill's kids, anybody who knew him, and I was with him every day.

I was removed by the IRB, Independent Review Board for the teamsters, for talking to my best friend, Bill Hogan. There's not much justice to what they did, obviously. It's hard to believe that it could happen in America, what they did.

The unbelievable fact is that Bill Hogan, a respected former union teamster leader, faces a trial in New York and the very real possibility of going to jail for six months simply for speaking socially with his best friend, Bob Riley, a former teamster.

So Bill and I met in fifth grade and have been lifelong friends. So I'm very blessed that I have my two best friends with me today. Moved here in 1970, we had five children, four biological, and our first foster child, Paul. Since then, we had a total of 10 foster children.

In and out.

Four of which we adopted.

This was Aunt Sue and Uncle Bob and their kids call me-- me and Jenny Uncle Bill and Aunt Jenny all their lives.

Which makes no sense. I mean, he's godfather to our children, and we're godfather to his kids and stuff. And the kids grew up together. I mean, we used to play when their kids were small babies. We used to call Friday or Saturday night. We played pinnacle. And the babies would all be on floor in the kitchen, just crawling around and having a good time.

They all grew up together. So we were a family and for them to say we couldn't talk was just outrageous. And then they went after my son, because he didn't fire Bob for talking to me. So somebody that he called Uncle his whole life, they took him out for not firing him for talking to his father. And that's just power and nobody should have that kind of power.

You find out he has contact with your father. In fact, you find out he has contact with your father hundreds of times. What step do you take to discipline him for disobeying the boss?

I didn't take any step. Because again, he was being disciplined under the IRB.

It frightens me about America today because if they can do this to the teamsters union, they can do this any organization. If they can take away our rights, what stops them from taking away anyone's rights?

I just told them how they had mistreated our family. And now they're picking on Bobby for no reason whatsoever. Bob Riley's been my friend for 50 years too. Isn't he allowed to call us? I don't understand this. Where's our freedom of speech?

What do we want?

Freedom of speech!

When do we want it?

Now!

What do we want?

Freedom of speech!

Bob Riley was a very effective organizer, very good at what he did. People loved him.

They're putting together a organizing team and look into the membership to get involved in someone that organizing campaign.

I heard Bob Riley's back to help with organizing-- as organizing director. And he was talking to my father on phone unbeknownst to me. And when I was asked about that, I said-- well, you filed charges against him. You're the IRB. Why did I have to act? You were acting. You had charges filed against him. You are in the process of doing what you do. I didn't think it was anything wrong with it. He's godfather to one of my brothers. I have known him since I was an infant. He's been-- I call him Uncle Bob until I would the time he came to work for me when I was in my 40s. So he was like a relative to me. Here's a man who fostered some 12 or 13 children over the years. The most charitable person I ever met in my life, involved with whatever charity you could imagine. He would've given his last hour to charity before he'd spend it on himself. And this is the kind of people that the IRB is coming after. It's ridiculous.

The second time they trusted a local, again, they found no money missing. They found no criminal activity. They found nothing. The only thing they found is Bobby didn't fire Bob Riley for talking to me. Somebody he'd call Uncle his whole life, he didn't fire him, so that was the big charge they had. But then to get rid of the Hogan's the only way you could do it was dissolved the local. And that's what Hoffa did. And this is a local that had almost 13,000 members was full of cash, was sound, was organizing one of the best locals in the country. He took it apart. Because that way, he could get rid of local. Because if they had that trusteeship after 18 months, again, and Bobby would run, he'd won it again and they knew it. So they had to get rid of the Hogans. And the only way he could do it was to get rid of the local.

The contract negotiations have been completed at the following companies since our last regular meeting.

Local 714 was carved up by the Hoffa administration. Union members were parceled out to other teamster locals.

I'm out of my old job now. I got to hire a criminal lawyer in New York because they're going to put me in jail for talking to my friends. So I kept negotiating down and looking for a lawyer. I finally got one up when I got a bargain at \$680 an hour to represent myself, to try and start a jail for talking to four friends of mine. That upset my wife because we were financially getting hammered. And at one point the law firm called her, and she's very sick, threatening-- we've got to get \$86,000 by the end of the year. I come home, she's a wreck. She wants me to sell her car. It's disgusting what they do.

The targeting of the Hogan family was tough to Bill's wife, Jinny. She suffered the most, unfortunately. She was a good lady. Oh god. We we're together for 48 years. What they did was wrong. They went after my kids. That really upset her. When that happened, she had a stroke. And then she was diagnosed with cancer. She went through three major surgeries.

She took it more to heart than anybody. I mean, every negative word, every attempt to get to Bill was a dagger in her heart. I mean, she didn't take it well. She couldn't just fluff it off. She couldn't-- if somebody said forget about it. Let's go on with our lives. She didn't have the ability to do that. And I think it ultimately contributed to her death.

I found out through a letter that I received from the IRB telling me that they wanted to talk to me. You're smart enough to know that you're going to a hearing like that, they're not going to ask any questions they don't really have the answers to already. So their main focus on me was-- did I ever talk to Bill Hogan? And I answered to him right away, yes I have. They said-- well, how many times have you talked to Bill Hogan? I said-- I don't know, about a dozen or so. And which was about right, it was 13. And they said-- what was the nature of the business? I said-- well, we go back a long ways. I says one was the birthday, we've talked to each other last couple of years on our birthdays. Since there was Thanksgiving. There was Christmas and holidays. I said but the most important calls I made is when I heard his wife had cancer. And I would call to check to see how she was doing through the process and how Bill was holding up.

I was expelled for life a banned member. I can't talk to any teamster. I've got relatives that are teamsters. I've got friends that I grew up with that I put the work when I was a teamster president and a representative. And I can't, to this day, talk to any of those individuals. It makes you feel like a second class citizen.

I got a letter in the mail stating that they wanted to meet with me because I was being investigated for talking to Dane Passo who is a barred member. Well, I have no idea, nor do I think it's any of their business, or anybody's business for that matter, and who I talk to and who I don't talk to. For them to take the position to bar me for life for talking to them, in essence has taken away my first amendment right. The IRB set this local back. I mean, I'm not patting myself on the back, but I had zero termination records. Everybody I went down to the hearing with and represented I got them their jobs back. I got members paid, time after time after time. I love being a business agent. And I love being involved with the union.

The real question is, are you better off for it? And I'm not so sure that the kinds-- that if you look at expenses, if you look at the damage to the locals, if you look at-- and how it froze organizing, if you look at how it-- what it did-- was it done the right way? No. There was a better way they could have done that respected to those things. Yes. But again, this was basically a legal sledgehammer that they used.

The real source of the problem in my view was-- starts with the consent decree, where basically the government used their power and the threat against the executive board to enter into this very, very harsh consent decree so that the executive board could save their bottoms. And it ended up imposing this hugely intrusive, limitless really, investigatory body. And they're like a control body over the teamsters for endless-- with no limit.

They depleted the treasury. Yes. I know. That money should have-- yes. Had there been-- and that was a trick too. Had the money come out of the federal budget, there would've been oversight. And that got them around it.

Since I left the local union, their membership was down about 10,000 to 12,000 members.

The 2015, judge Florida Prescott, who succeeded judge Adelstein at oversight of the consent decree, approved an agreement that could end government control in 2020. 31 years after it was initiated.

I think the main thing is they took the guts out of the union. They have terrorized the union. The people that are in the union are fearful of the Independent Review Board. They used to represent their members, now, they're afraid to do that.

After a long expensive court battle, the government moved to settle it's contempt of court case against Bill Hogan for speaking to friends in the teamsters union without any admission of guilt. Hogan is still prohibited from speaking to any teamster remember, except his two sons. IRB board members who received salaries as well as their own pension funds from the teamsters union declined to be interviewed for this film. Rudy Giuliani's office canceled an interview he previously agreed to the day before it was supposed to take place.

Randy Mastro and teamster president James Hoffa also declined to be interviewed. Under the consent decree, more than \$250 million from the teamsters treasury has been used to fund the IRB related legal costs. Records show \$10 million of the teamsters treasury was used last year to implement government control. Questionable expulsions continue and 1.4 million union members are still denied their right to free speech and due process.

Last Edited by George Bogdanich on 07/08/20, 8:06pm9014 Words
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